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ABSTRACT

The staff of the Ways To Improve Education In Desegregated Schools (WIEDS) project set out to collect information regarding successful desegregation practices in order to conceptualize, develop, test, and refine an inservice model and training guidelines for use in desegregated schools. The information was gathered by: (1) analyzing the United States Commission on Civil Rights Case Studies and the National Institute of Education's School Desegregation Ethnographies; (2) reviewing the desegregation literature; (3) surveying 149 central office administrators and Desegregation Assistance Center personnel; (4) interviewing 193 administrators, teachers, students, and parent/community representatives; and (5) analyzing the inservice education programs of fifteen selected desegregated school districts. The WIEDS investigation focused on the impact of desegregation on racial relations, student discipline policy (especially suspensions and expulsions), and student, teacher, administrator and parent attitudes. (Author/APM)

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INTEGRATION, INSERVICE EDUCATION, AND THE IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION

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A Paper Prepared by

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INTEGRATION, INSERVICE EDUCATION, AND THE IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION

Measuring the impact of desegregation, of course, goes beyond a simple assessment of how smoothly, or roughly, goes the opening day at a newly desegregated school. The process of both desegregation and integration begins before opening day, and most of the work of integration takes place after desegregation.

It is important to note how the terms "desegregation" and "integration" are used in the Ways to Improve Education in Desegregated Schools (WIEDS) study. One of the findings of the study is that there is not universal agreement on definitions of terms relating to desegregation and integration. Following are definitions of how they are used in this paper:

Desegregation - is the process of ending segregation, the bringing together of previously segregated groups. (Many people evidently consider it an event.)

Integration - the process wherein people of different groups tend to interact cooperatively on a basis of equal status and trust as they know, understand, and respect each other's culture and contributions.

Second Generation Problems

An important part of achieving integration is solving what some have called "second generation" desegregation problems. "Second generation" problems are those which occur after the physical desegregation of students and staff. These are "problems which prevent schools from becoming...integrated and from providing effective education for all students..." and they can be characterized as "acts of omission or commission that continue discrimination against minority groups, or that perpetuate the effects of past discrimination" (Minter, 1979).

Although the impact of second generation attitudes and behavior is destructive, there is perhaps less attention paid to them because they are not so overt as, say, a policy that maintains a segregated school district. Following are some of the second generation problems to which some attention has been called: (1) reduction of support for desegregated public schools, as shown especially by resegregation or white flight; (2) segregation of students within "desegregated" schools; (3) segregated, or monocultural, curricula; (4) disproportionate numbers of minority students placed in special education classes or lowest academic "tracks"; (5) disproportionately high numbers and percentages of minority students suspended, expelled, or otherwise punished (Minter, 1979; Children's Defense Fund, 1975).

Debates proceed as to how to measure the impact of desegregation on some of these problems as well as how to measure the impact of these problems on school children. For example, does school desegregation promote white flight, or is it more attributable to demographic mobility trends not related to schools or race? Since resegregation seems to be related to declining public/financial support for public schools, the answer(s) may be important (Coleman, 1975; Pettigrew and Green, 1976; Rossell,1975). And how do we assess the significance of within-school segregation? Is it attributable to benign "freedom of choice" by students--and staff? Or does it reflect racial problems which sometimes erupt into violent incidents (Minter, 1979)?

In the case of the disproportionate punishment, such as corporal punishment, expulsion, and suspension, it would be difficult to document any benign forces at work. The Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts, and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1976-77 (U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Office for Civil Rights),

yields data indicating a serious problem in the nation's schools. In the six-state Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL) region (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas), minorities comprised 38.8% of the region's enrollment, but they constituted 56.25% of the pupils expelled or suspended for one day or longer. (See Figure 1.) In Austin, Texas, where SEDL is located, the school district has been denied some federal funds because it punishes a larger proportion of minority students than majority students.

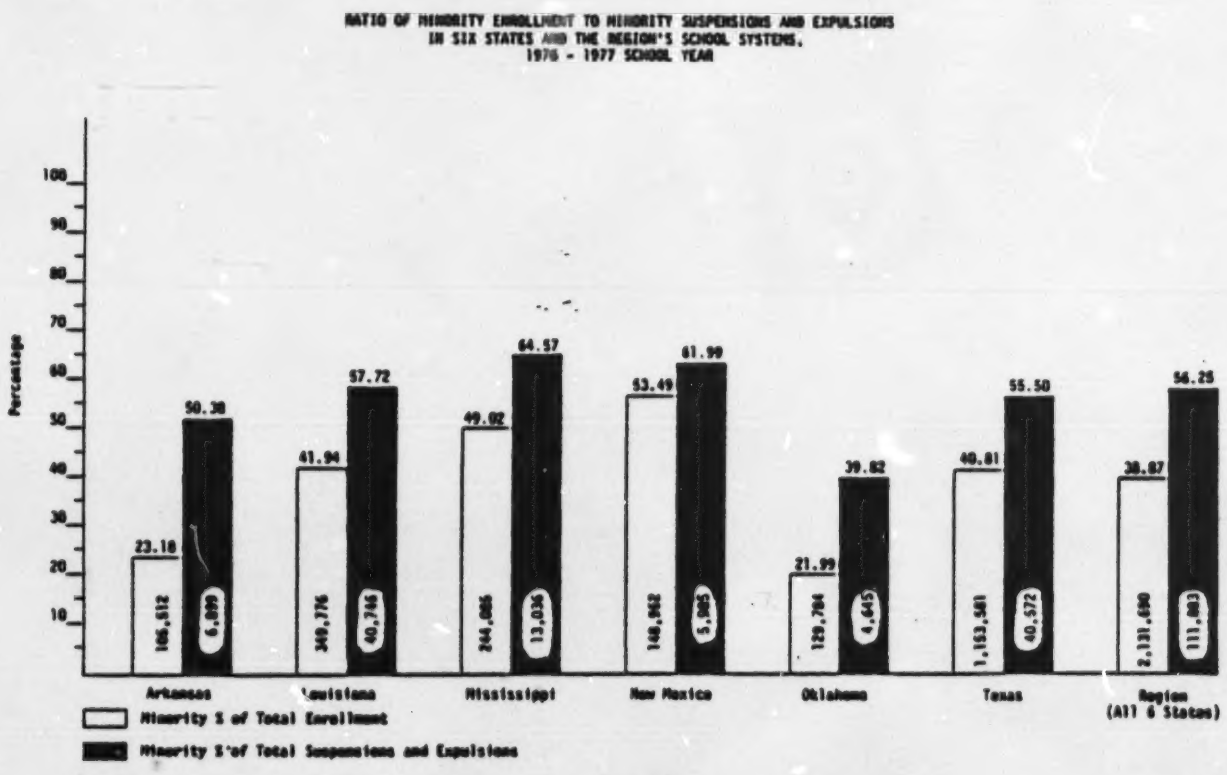

Figure 1

During school year 1976-1977, the most recent for which such data are available, in each of the six SEDL states the ratio of suspensions and expulsions of minority students is higher than their proportion of enroll-

ment in schools. In Arkansas the suspension and expulsion proportion of minority pupils is more than twice their proportion of enrollment. In Oklahoma the ratio is nearly double. The percentage ratios of minority suspension/expulsion to enrollment for Louisiana and Texas are close to the regional average. Louisiana expelled/suspended 40,746 minority students, 174 more than Texas, although Texas enrolled more than three times as many minority students as did Louisiana.

Nationally, the picture does not appear quite so dismal, but still it is not good. In the same 1976-1977 period, minority pupils were 24% (10,484,560) of the national enrollment (43,713,809), but they were 36% (588,203) of those expelled or suspended. The entire picture is perhaps even worse than these data show; they are self-reported, and school systems which did not report these data by race are not included.

But examples of inequitable treatment of Hispanic students (e.g., Uribe, 1980), Indian children (e.g., Dupris, 1979), and Black children (e.g., Epps, 1979) are plentiful, especially if they are also low socio-economic status children (Brophy, 1975), (see also Minter, 1979). So it is also clear that more can, and thus should be, done to remedy desegregation's negative impact, an impact weighing most heavily on minority children.

There is evidence that the impact of desegregation on children's learning is conditional. In her review of desegregation/integration research, St. John (1975) concluded that "the most plausible hypothesis" was that the relation between desegregation and achievement is a conditional one:

> ...the academic performance of minority group children will be higher in integrated than in equivalent segregated schools, provided they are supported by staff and accepted by peers.

Therein lies the difference between an integrated school and a school that is merely desegregated.

Katz (1964, 1968) concluded from his review of desegregation/integration studies that the several factors that influenced Black students' academic performance included social conditions in the school and classroom, the degrees of acceptance by significant others (particularly white teachers and peers), and the Black pupil's self concept in regard to the probability of social and academic success or failure. It is important to note, as did Kirk and Goon (1975), that these conditions--identified in studies reviewed by themselves, St. John, and in others--are not unique to success for minority students in a desegregated setting, but that "they are vitally important to academic success for anyone in any educational setting."

It seems clear that racial desegregation has had considerable positive impact on American children. From recent studies on effects of desegregation on children, it may reasonably be concluded that in an integrated setting: (1) academic achievement rises for the minority children while relatively advantaged majority children continue to learn at the same or higher rate, (2) minority children may gain a more positive self concept and a more realistic conception of their vocational and educational future than under segregation, and (3) positive racial attitudes by minority and majority students develop as they attend school together (e.g., Weinberg, 1977a, 1977b; Edmonds, 1979; Epps, 1979).

Problem Statement

After summarizing 120 studies of school desegregation which she analyzed for outcomes to children, St. John (1970) concluded that further

investigation of the general question--"Does desegregation benefit children?"--would seem a waste of resources. "The pressing need now is to discover the school conditions under which the benefits of mixed schooling are maximized and its hardships minimized." From its beginning in 1978, the purposes of Project WIEDS have been to (1) investigate these conditions conducive to equitable, quality education; (2) determine effective strategies to help bring about these conditions; (3) assess and prioritize remaining desegregation-related needs, i.e., second generation problems; and (4) develop a program to help implement the most effective strategies and meet the most important needs/problems.

Overview of Methods and Procedures

Project WIEDS' approach has been to collect information regarding successful desegregation practices in order to conceptualize, develop, test, and refine an inservice model and training guidelines for use in desegregated/desegregating schools. This information has been gathered by: (1) reviewing the desegregation literature; (2) analyzing the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Desegregation Case Studies (August, 1976) and the National Institute of Education's unpublished School Desegregation Ethnographies, 1977-1978; (3) surveying 149 central office administrators and Desegregation Assistance Center personnel; (4) interviewing 193 administrators, teachers, students, and parent/community representatives; and (5) analyzing the IE programs of fifteen selected desegregated school districts.

Review of Pertinent Desegregation Literature

The desegregation literature indicates that positive attitudes and behavior by school personnel are probably critical to providing educational

equity for all students and maximizing the benefits of desegregation. Since 1960 there has been a growing pool of findings from empirical research on the correlation between the behavior and attitudes of teachers and the attitudes and academic performance of pupils (e.g., Krantz, 1970; Good and Brophy, 1973; Gay, 1975). Indications are that "naturalistic" input is powerful in determining teachers' attitudes toward their students. These naturalistic factors include: (1) information about students, such as reputation for behavior, from other teachers, administrators, and parents, (2) cumulative records, (3) standardized test scores, (4) physical characteristics, such as sex, physical attractiveness, socio-economic status, and ethnicity (Mendels and Flanders, 1973; Gay, 1975). Frequently, more than one of these factors are present to influence teachers' attitudes and behavior toward the more visible minority children, which include Black Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians.

The research findings strongly suggest: (1) that student ethnicity is one of the major determinants of teachers' attitudes and behavior toward their students; (2) that teachers, including minority teachers, expect less of minority students and give them fewer opportunities and less praise and encouragement and positive feedback than they do majority students; and (3) that these conditions are detrimental to the quality of education, thus denying equal opportunity for quality education to many minority children (Barnes, 1973; U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1974; Gay, 1974; Mangold, 1974).

Survey of Central Office Administrators

From the desegregation literature, principally from the 27 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Case Studies and the five NIE ethnographic studies,

items were developed to survey school administrators about desegregation practices and remaining needs. Data were collected for the following categories:

1. Demographic
    a. District characteristics
    b. Respondent characteristics
2. District Desegregation History
3. Sources of Pressure to Desegregate
4. Perceived Problems/Areas of Need
5. Effectiveness of Desegregation Strategies by eight Goal Areas
    a. Student and staff assignment plans
    b. Community involvement
    c. Crisis prevention/resolution
    d. Multicultural perspective
    e. Compensatory education
    f. Race relations
    g. Administrative procedures
    h. Inservice education

Survey responses were returned by central office administrators, one in each of 131 local education agencies (LEAs) and of 16 General Assistance Center (GAC) personnel in the SEDL six-state region. The purposes of the survey were to: (1) identify and rate the effectiveness of strategies used in the desegregation process, and (2) identify remaining problems and needs. (For other details of this study, see Williams, 1980.)

To indicate the desegregation-related needs and/or problems remaining in their districts regarding desegregation, no response format was provided the respondents other than space in which to write the information. The administrators reported the following remaining desegregation needs/problems, ranked by frequency (Williams, 1980):

1. Discipline and racial disruptions (17)*
2. Lack of minority administrators and faculty (12)
3. Establishing lines of communication with community (11)
4. Busing (9)
5. Segregated classrooms (8)
6. Non-compliance and racial imbalance (8)
7. Inappropriate curriculum for multiethnic student population (7)
8. Inadequate teacher attitudes and cooperation (6)
9. White flight (6)
10. Differential treatment of minority students (5)

Interviews of Administrators, Teachers, Students, and Parents

After examination of WIEDS survey data and literature review, WIEDS staff and consultants developed interview schedules for five categories of respondents (central office administrators, principals, teachers, secondary students, and parents/community representatives).

Six local education agency (LEA) sites, one from each of the six states in the SEDL region, were selected to include different racial combinations. Three sites are primarily Black-Anglo desegregated districts; one is Hispanic-Anglo; and two are tri-racial (one Anglo-Black-Hispanic, and one Anglo-Black-Native American). The six school districts which cooperated in the WIEDS study are:

Little Rock, Arkansas
Lafayette, Louisiana
Meridian, Mississippi
Santa Fe, New Mexico
Muskogee, Oklahoma
Lubbock, Texas

*Indicates number of respondents who cited this as a problem/area of need.

Five of the six desegregated their schools under federal court order. In the other district, initiative was taken by the superintendent, and a significant measure of desegregation was accomplished.

In only one district was there general agreement that a crisis existed when desegregation was initiated, i.e., violence to the extent that some schools were temporarily closed. In another district, there were mixed opinions about whether there was a crisis; some thought schools should have been closed. In two LEAs, there was consensus that the general atmosphere was calm. In three districts opinions varied, from calm to anticipated crisis, reflecting perhaps the variety of conditions in schools with which the respondents were most familiar, rather than in the whole district. Each of the districts used busing for desegregation. (For other details of the interview phase of the WIEDS study, see Williams, 1980; and King and Galindo, 1980.)

The interviews were designed to gather data in the same eight goal areas and demography as the WIEDS survey, but more qualitative in nature and with more breadth in some areas and more depth in race relations, home-community-school relations, IE, and remaining needs and problems. The interview population differed significantly from the survey population. Whereas survey respondents were all central office administrators (CO), interviewees were CO, principals, teachers, students, and parent/community representatives. The interview respondents were also more nearly balanced in terms of race and sex, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF SURVEY AND INTERVIEW
RESPONDENTS BY RACE AND SEX

	Race	Sex
Survey	28 (21.2%) Minority	10 (7.6%) Female
N = 132 CO	104 (78.8%) Anglo	122 (92.4%) Male
Interview	103 (53.4%) Minority	96 (49.7%) Female
N = 193	90 (46.6%) Anglo	97 (50.3%) Male

Although in race and sex the respondents were generally representative of their respective districts, no district used any random sampling method in their selection process. A few of the teachers and parents expressed surprise that an administrator had selected them to be interviewed. These respondents professed to be outspoken and sometimes critical of their administration's desegregation policies and/or methods, and this was frequently indicated in the interviews.

Almost without exception, it seems, the students selected were (1) among the most "involved" in school activities, (2) "leaders" in school sports, government, and/or social life, and (3) "articulate." Only a few were, in any way, critical of administrative policies or practices. None could be characterized as disaffected or as being in any socio-economic strata lower than middle class and thus appeared to be upwardly mobile within the system.

Thus, the respondents as a group were not diversified according to socio-economic status but were heterogeneous in race, sex, and age. A few minority and majority students and adults nevertheless expressed feelings that minority students were sometimes discriminated against in receiving

more punishment and less encouragement in academic and extracurricular activities.

No claims are made for the study's being statistically representative of the nation's or even the region's schools. But the districts studied are probably not atypical either. The conditions, problems, and strategies of the WIEDS study schools seem consistent with those described in desegregation literature.

The general categorical distribution of interview respondents in each district was: (1) two CO personnel, (2) three principals, (3) nine teachers, (4) nine students, and (5) nine parents/community representatives. All categories were essentially balanced for sex and race, not proportional, but equal. The WIEDS interviewees in the six LEAs were distributed by district and category as indicated in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2
INTERVIEWEES BY LEA AND CATEGORY

	CO	Pr	Tch	Stu	P/C	TOTAL
LEA 1	5	3	9	9	9	35
2	2	3	10	9	10	34
3	2	3	9	9	8	31
4	2	3	9	9	9	32
5	4	2	9	9	10	34
6	2	3	8	7	7	27
TOTALS	17	17	54	52	53	193

CO = Central Office
Pr = Principal
Tch = Teacher
Stu = Student
P/C = Parent/Community

Categories were essentially balanced by grade level (elementary, junior high/middle school, and high school), except that all students were secondary levels. The administrative categories proved difficult to balance for race and sex; there were relatively fewer minority and women CO administrators and principals from which to select. Desegregation has made less impact on administration staffing than on mixing students or even teachers.

In all six districts, there were at the two top levels of administration (superintendent, and associate or assistant superintendent) only one Native American (a male) and two women (both Black). Both CO women were interviewed, but the Native American was not scheduled. Although WIEDS staff suggested that for its purposes, "central office" would include curriculum specialists, program directors, and others who had responsibilities in more than one school, only four of the seventeen CO interviewed were women. Thirteen of the seventeen were Anglo. Of the seventeen principals, seven were female and seven were minority.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

As shown in Table 3, minority respondents interviewed and surveyed were, except for teachers, more involved in the desegregation of their schools and had more desegregation-related training than their Anglo counterparts. These data may support a hypothesis that this situation may be another dimension in which desegregation has more impact on minorities than non-minorities. Of the CO interviewees, slightly more than half (7 of 13) of the Anglos had indepth involvement, 75% (3 of 4) of the minorities did. The percentages for COs surveyed are similar for indepth involvement, 75% minority to 59% Anglo. No minority administrators interviewed had limited involvement, while four Anglos did. As shown in the table of principals interviewed, in this position also, more minorities were proportionally more involved in the desegregation of their schools. Proportionally, principals were the category most involved in the desegregation process, but only slightly more so than CO administrators.

TABLE 3

TRAINING AND PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

CO Administrators Interviewed

RACE	Training Related to Desegregation				Personal Involvement in Desegregation		
	Work-shops	Semi-nar	On Job Exper-ience	None	Limi-ted	Gen-eral	In-depth
Anglo	4	1	2	6(46.2%)	4(30.8%)	2	7(53.8%)
Black	1	1	1			1	2(66.7%)
Hispanic	1						1(100.0%)
TOTALS	6	2	3	6	4	3	10

Principals Interviewed

RACE	Training Related to Desegregation				Personal Involvement in Desegregation		
	Work-shops	Semi-nar	Coll Rel. ⊛	None	Limi-ted	Gen-eral	In-depth
Anglo	1		4	4(44.4%)	2(22.2%)	1	6(66.7%)
Black	2	1		3(50.0%)		1	5(83.3%)
Hispanic	1						1(100.0%)
TOTALS	4	1	4	8	2	2	12

Teachers Interviewed

RACE	Training Related to Desegregation				Personal Involvement in Desegregation		
	Work-shops	Semi-nar	Coll Rel. ⊛	None	Limi-ted	Gen-eral	In-depth
Anglo	4		1	11(68.8%)	2(12.5%)	6	8(50.0%)
Black	7	1	1	9(50.0%)	2(10.5%)	8	9(47.4%)
Hispanic	2			2(50.0%)	2(40.0%)		1(20.0%)
Native American			1		1(50.0%)	1	
TOTALS	13	1	3	22	7	17	18

Parent/Community Representatives Interviewed

RACE	Training Related to Desegregation	Personal Involvement in Desegregation		
		Limi-ted	Gen-eral	In-depth
Anglo	Data not Available	3(17.6%)	4	10(58.8%)
Black		1(5.6%)	5	12(66.7%)
Hispanic			3	2(40.0%)
Native American		1(20.0%)	1	3(60.0%)
TOTALS		5	13	25

CO Administrators Surveyed

RACE	Training Related to Desegregation	Personal Involvement in Desegregation		
		Limi-ted	Gen-eral	In-depth
Anglo	Data not Available	23(24.7%)	15	55(59.1%)
Minority		2(10.0%)	3	15(75.0%)
TOTALS		25	18	70

⊛ College related

The pattern of proportionally heavier personal involvement of minorities changes slightly with teachers. Black and Anglo teachers were involved at about the same ratio, but Hispanic and Native Americans less involved. In regard to desegregation-related training of teachers, as in other categories, minorities received more training. Most of this training was in workshops, and the data do not show whether attendance was voluntary. As groups, the minority teachers are younger than the Anglo. This perhaps indicates that as the LEAs desegregated and hired more minority teachers, they hired younger ones, and that probably fewer new Anglo teachers had been hired recently. The hiring of additional minority staff was perceived by many, especially minority respondents, as one of the most effective desegregation strategies.

Among the parents interviewed, more than half reported indepth involvement in desegregation of their schools. Again, the Black, Hispanic, and Native American were more involved than Anglos, although white parents were more involved than white educators. Almost equal numbers of mothers and fathers were interviewed, with only one more mother than father. This was about the ratio for each racial group involved, except for Native Americans, whose father interviewees outnumbered the mother literally four to one, as there were only five Native American parents interviewed.

By considering race and category variables, analysis of the interview data allowed identification of some possible relationships of those factors with reported perceptions. Certainly any efforts to measure the impact, short or long term, must consider race, i.e., "impact upon whom" as well as "in what ways." As part of its efforts to assess desegregation's impact and related needs, Project WIEDS examined student, parent, and school staff

perceptions of the following areas of concern:

- How well is desegregation working?
- In tri-racial desegregation, are relations better between any two groups? Which? Why? Which two groups have the worse relations? Why?
- Does any group of students seem to have more difficulty with desegregation? Why?
- How has desegregation affected discipline policy and procedures? Are minority students punished more than non-minority students? If so, why?
- What problems relating to desegregation have not yet been solved?
- What problems relating to desegregation have been solved?
- (of parents) What has desegregation done to these things in your child's school:
    - School facilities and equipment?
    - Extracurricular activities?
    - Academic achievement?
    - Education in general?

Parents and students were asked: "How well is desegregation working in your school?" Their responses are indicated by race in the following table.

TABLE 4
STUDENT AND PARENT PERCEPTIONS OF
HOW WELL DESEGREGATION IS WORKING

RACE: A = Anglo
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
T = Total

	STUDENT					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTALS
	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
Well	17/ 89%	13/ 93	4/ 100	2/ 67	36/ 88	14/ 82	5/ 33	3/ 60	1/ 25	23/ 56	31/ 84	18/ 62	7/ 78	3/ 43	59/ 72%
Somewhat well				1/ 33	1/ 2	3/ 18	5/ 33		3/ 75	11/ 37	3/ 8	5/ 17		4/ 57	12/ 15
Not well	2/ 10				2/ 5		1/ 7	1/ 20		2/ 5	2/ 5	1/ 3	1/ 11		4/ 5
Uncertain								1/ 20		1/ 2			1/ 11		1/ 1
No change							2/ 13			2/ 5		2/ 15			2/ 2
Mixed							1/ 7			1/ 2		1/ 3			1/ 1
Very slow							1/ 7			1/ 2		1/ 3			1/ 1
New experience		1/ 7			1/ 2							1/ 3			1/ 1
Student relations could be better	1/ 5				1/ 2						1/ 3				1/ 1
TOTALS					41					41	37	29	9	7	82

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

Students reported more positive perceptions than did parents; 88% (36) students and only 56% (23) parents thought desegregation was working well. Anglos tended to be most positive about it; 84% of white students and parents said desegregation was going well. Among minority respondents, 78% of the Hispanics thought it was working well; 62% of the Blacks; and only 43% of Native Americans. Nevertheless, among Native American parents and students, none thought desegregation was working less than "somewhat well." Most Native Americans (57%) thought it was going somewhat well. None reported it as worse than that.

The reported perceptions of Anglo parents and students were somewhat similar. Of those interviewed, 85% (17) of white students and 82% (14) of

of white parents said that desegregation was working well. But there were major differences between the perceptions by minority students and parents. Only one Black student, who said s/he had not been involved long enough to assess it, reported that desegregation was working anything less than well. All other Black students (13/93%) said it was going well. Overall, the Black parents were the least positive of any group interviewed; only one-third (5) reported that they thought desegregation was going well; another one-third said "somewhat well"; one (7%) said "not well"; and their other answers included: "no change" (2), "mixed," and "very slow."

From responses to the broad question of how well desegregation was working, it may be concluded that the white respondents generally felt it was going better than did the minority respondents. But most respondents of all races, except for Black parents, evidently felt it was going pretty well.

The WIEDS interviews also sought to determine the problems of student racial groups who might be having more difficulty than other groups in tri-racial schools. This effort was made through a series of questions to the 66 respondents WIEDS staff interviewed in tri-racial schools. In response to the question of whether race relations were better between any two groups, most interviewees within all racial groups said "yes" (58%, 36 of 63 responding), as shown in Table 5. Seven of the nine administrators (4 principals and 5 COs) thought so. One other (an Hispanic CO) said it depends on socio-economic factors, not race. Responses from students were most evenly divided, but still a majority (7 of 12) said that there were better relations between some two groups. These students' yes and no responses were distributed over the racial groups involved.

TABLE 5
RACE RELATIONS IN TRI-RACIAL SCHOOLS

RACE: A = Anglo, B = Black, H = Hispanic, NA = Native American, T = Total

		CEO A	CEO B	CEO H	CEO NA	CEO T	PRINCIPAL A	PRINCIPAL B	PRINCIPAL H	PRINCIPAL NA	PRINCIPAL T	TEACHER A	TEACHER B	TEACHER H	TEACHER NA	TEACHER T	STUDENT A	STUDENT B	STUDENT H	STUDENT NA	STUDENT T	PTC A	PTC B	PTC H	PTC NA	PTC T	TOTALS A	TOTALS B	TOTALS H	TOTALS NA	GRAND TOTAL
ARE STUDENTS' RACE RELATIONS BETTER BETWEEN ANY TWO GROUPS THAN ANY OTHER TWO?	Yes	3/ 100	1/ 100			4	2/ 66	1/ 100			3	2/ 33	3/ 50	4/ 67	1/ 33	10	2/ 33	1/ 33	3/ 60	1/ 33	7	2/ 67	4/ 67	4/ 100	2/ 67	12	11/ 33	10/ 59	11/ 69	4/ 44	36/ 53
	No											1/ 17	1/ 17	1/ 17	2/ 33	5	2/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 20	1/ 33	5				1/ 33	1	3/ 14	2/ 12	2/ 13	1/ 33	10/ 14
	Mixed						1/ 33				1	1/ 17	1/ 17	1/ 17		3	2/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 20		4	1/ 33				2	4/ 19	1/ 6	2/ 13		7/ 10
	Don't know																		1/ 33		1	1/ 33				2	2/ 5		1/ 11		3/ 7
	Depends on socio-economic factors		1/ 100			1						2/ 33	1/ 17		1/ 33	4											3/ 10	1/ 6	1/ 6	1/ 9	6/ 8
	TOTALS	3	1			5	3				4	6	6	6	3	21	6	3	5	3	17	3	6	4	3	16	21	17	16	9	63
WHICH TWO GROUPS HAVE THE BEST RELATIONS?	Anglos/Blacks	1/ 33	1/ 100			2	1/ 50	1/ 100			2	1/ 50				1						1/ 100				1	3/ 60	1/ 20			4/ 44
	Anglos/Hispanics	2/ 66				2	1/ 50				1			2/ 50		2	1/ 50			1/ 50	2						4/ 80	1/ 20		1/ 33	6/ 67
	Anglos/Native Americans											1/ 33				1		1/ 100	1/ 50		2						1/ 20		2/ 67	1/ 33	4/ 44
	Blacks/Hispanics											2/ 50	2/ 67	2/ 50		5		1/ 33			1		2/ 100			2	2/ 10	3/ 60	2/ 67		7/ 47
	Blacks/Native Americans																1/ 50				1						1/ 10				1/ 3
	Hispanics/Native Americans													1/ 50		1									1/ 100	1				2/ 67	2/ 67
	TOTALS	3	1			4	2	1			3	2	3	4	1	10	2	1	2	1	6	1	4	4	1	10	10	10	11	3	34
WHICH TWO GROUPS HAVE THE WORST RELATIONS?	Anglos/Blacks																						1/ 100			1		1/ 50			1/ 33
	Anglos/Hispanics																											1/ 50			1/ 33
	Anglos/Native Americans													1/ 100		1												1/ 100			1/ 33
	Blacks/Hispanics													1/ 100		1														1/ 50	1/ 25
	Blacks/Native Americans														1/ 100	1														1/ 50	1/ 25
	Hispanics/Native Americans																											1	2	1	4
	TOTALS															3															
WHAT CAUSES THESE POOR RELATIONS?	Cultural, socio-economic factors											1/ 100				1			1/ 50		1				1/ 100	1	2/ 100	1/ 50			3/ 67
	ASSIMILATION																		1/ 50		1							1/ 50			1/ 33
	TOTALS											1				1			2		2						2	2			4

		CEO A	CEO B	CEO H	CEO NA	CEO T	PRINCIPAL A	PRINCIPAL B	PRINCIPAL H	PRINCIPAL NA	PRINCIPAL T	TEACHER A	TEACHER B	TEACHER H	TEACHER NA	TEACHER T	STUDENT A	STUDENT B	STUDENT H	STUDENT NA	STUDENT T	PTC A	PTC B	PTC H	PTC NA	PTC T	TOTALS A	TOTALS B	TOTALS H	TOTALS NA	GRAND TOTAL
ANY GROUP SEEN TO HAVE MORE DIFFICULTY WITH DESEGREGATION THAN OTHERS?	Yes	2/ 50	1/ 100			3	1/ 50	1/ 50			2	4/ 100	5/ 83	4/ 80	1/ 100	14	2/ 67	2/ 67	2/ 67	1/ 33	7	2/ 67	3/ 50	1/ 33	1/ 33	8	11/ 65	11/ 65	8/ 67	3/ 38	33/ 63
	No	1/ 25				1	1/ 50	1/ 50			2	1/ 17	1/ 17			2	1/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 33	4	1/ 33	3/ 50	2/ 67	1/ 33	7	4/ 24	6/ 35	3/ 25	3/ 38	16/ 30
	Mixed	1/ 25	1/ 100			2						1/ 17	1/ 17	1/ 20	1/ 100	4	2/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 33	1/ 33	5	1/ 33		1/ 33	1/ 33	3	4/ 24	2/ 12	3/ 25	2/ 25	11/ 21
	Don't know																										1/ 6	1/ 6	1/ 8		3/ 6
	TOTALS	4	1			6	2	2			4	6	6	5	1	18	6	3	3	3	15	3	6	3	3	15	17	17	12	8	54
WHICH GROUP HAS MORE DIFFICULTY?	Anglos											2/ 50	1/ 20			3	2/ 67	1/ 33	2/ 67	1/ 50	6	2/ 67	1/ 33	1/ 100		4	6/ 37	3/ 20	3/ 27	1/ 100	13/ 28
	Blacks	1/ 50				1						1/ 25	3/ 60	2/ 50		6	1/ 33	2/ 67	1/ 33		4	1/ 33	2/ 67	1/ 100		4	4/ 25	7/ 47	4/ 36		15/ 32
	Hispanics			1/ 100		1								1/ 25		1						1/ 33				1	1/ 6		2/ 18		3/ 6
	Native Americans	1/ 50	1/ 100		1/ 100	3	1/ 100				1	1/ 25	1/ 20	1/ 25		3											3/ 18	1/ 6	1/ 9	1/ 100	6/ 13
	TOTALS	2	1			4	1				1	4	5	4	1	14	3	3	3	1	10	3	3	1	1	8	16	13	9	1	47
WHY DOES THIS GROUP HAVE MORE DIFFICULTY?	Cultural, socio-economic factors						1/ 50				1	1/ 33	2/ 50	1/ 33		4	1/ 33				1	2/ 67	2/ 67	1/ 100		5	4/ 33	2/ 67	1/ 14	1/ 100	8/ 47
	Values	1/ 50				1						1/ 25				1	1/ 33				1		1/ 100			1	2/ 17	1/ 8	1/ 14		4/ 13
	Language													1/ 33		1												1/ 8	1/ 14		2/ 6
	Housing						1/ 100				1	1/ 33	1/ 33			2	1/ 33	1/ 50			2						2/ 17	1/ 8	2/ 29		5/ 16
	No motive to finish school	1/ 50				1																					1/ 8		1/ 14		2/ 6
	Focus in numbers		1/ 100			1																					1/ 8				1/ 3
	Personal difficulties											1/ 33				1											1/ 8				1/ 3
	Mid-year transfer																					1/ 33				1	1/ 8				1/ 3
	Lack of basic skills											1/ 25				1											1/ 8				1/ 3
	Student interactions						1/ 50				1						1/ 33	1/ 50			2						2/ 17	1/ 8	1/ 14		4/ 9
	Classroom adjustment																1/ 33				1						1/ 8				1/ 3
	Don't know																1/ 33				1						1/ 8				1/ 3
	Totals	2	1			3	1	2			2	3	4	3	1	10	3	2			5	3	3	1	1	8	12	12	7	1	32

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

Other than the seven administrators, respondents were reluctant to identify the two groups of students they had said had better relations in the tri-racial schools (see Table 5, previous page). Of the 56 who said there were such groups, only 34, including only seven students, would name the groups (Table 5). All but three of these 34 named their own group as one of the two having better relations. We do not know whether the other 22 who had said there were two such groups did not consider theirs as one of them, or whether this might be the reason they named none. By frequency of pairs named as having better relations, the responses ranged in descending order as follows:

Blacks and Hispanics	(47%)
Anglos and Blacks	(17%)
Anglos and Hispanics	(17%)
Anglos and Native Americans	(9%)
Hispanics and Native Americans	(6%)
Blacks and Native Americans	(3%)

Hispanic students were the most frequently named (70% of responses), just ahead of Blacks (67%). Anglos were named in 43% of responses. Native Americans were named least frequently. It should be pointed out that Black students and white students were involved in both tri-racial districts, while the Native American and Hispanics were in only one each.

Respondents apparently were even more reluctant to identify the two racial groups of students having the worst race relations (Table 5). There were only four respondents to do this, no students, three teachers and a parent, all minority. Two of the four named their own racial group as one of the two groups of students having the worst relations. Each of the four respondents named a different pair:

Anglos/Blacks - 1 (an Hispanic parent)
Anglos/Hispanics - 0
Anglos/Native Americans - 1 (an Hispanic teacher)
Blacks/Hispanics - 1 (a Black teacher)
Blacks/Native Americans - 1 (a Native American teacher)
Hispanics/Native Americans - 0

In regard to the Hispanic/Native American relations, it should be pointed out that in only one of the WIEDS sites were students of those two groups together, a district with 67% Hispanic and only 1.5% Indian. It was, nevertheless, an Hispanic teacher who reported that in her school, the worst relations were between Anglos and Indians (Table 5).

Only three respondents would venture to identify the causes of "these poor relations" (Table 5). Two of them were Hispanic students who had not named any two such groups but said that cultural, socio-economic factors and racist attitudes caused poor race relations. A Black teacher also ascribed the poor race relations between Black and Hispanic students to cultural differences.

Fifty-six (84.8%) of the sixty-six respondents in the two tri-racial schools indicated that there was one racial group of students in their schools which had more difficulty (Table 5). Thirty-seven identified groups. By frequency of their mention as the racial group having most difficulty with desegregation in the tri-racial schools, the student groups are rank-ordered below:

Black	16 (42%)
Native American	9 (25%)
Anglo	9 (25%)
Hispanic	3 (8%)
	37(100%)

Again, the caveat is offered that only the Black and white student groups were present in significant numbers in both tri-racial districts, and Hispanic and Native American in only one (see also Table 5). This perhaps makes it more significant that an equal number of respondents identified Indians and Anglos as the group with most desegregation problems (9 each). The whites were in two districts, Indians only one. Of interest also

is the phenomenon that most of the racial groups received a majority of their votes as the group with the most desegregation problems from members of other racial groups; i.e., most respondents did not pick their own group as the one with most problems. The rank order of the "most difficulty" groups is repeated below, but this time with the indication of how many of each respective group named their own group (see also Table 5).

Black	- 6 (46% of Blacks responding)
Native American	- 0 (none of Native Americans responding)
Anglo	- 4 (27% of Anglos responding)
Hispanic	- 1 (13% of Hispanics responding)

Relative to other groups, Black respondents saw their own group as having more difficulty than others. It appears, however, that of those responding, most, more than two-thirds, perceived some other racial group as having more problems than their group. These findings, it would seem, have a bearing on the data in regard to the question of "Why does this group have more difficulty" (Table 5), insofar as most respondents apparently described why some group other than their own was having difficulty with desegregation. More than one-third (11 of 32) cited cultural/socio-economic factors, and another four ascribed the difficulties to value conflicts. Another two responses (one Black and one Hispanic) said language caused the difficulty. Five (including whites, Hispanics, and a Black) of the 32 said busing caused some one minority group to have the most difficulty with desegregation.

When respondents were asked what desegregation-related problems remained to be resolved, however, only two (parents, an Anglo and an Indian) mentioned busing and that was in relation to extracurricular activities. On the other hand, 11 said that busing for desegregation had been a problem but that it had been resolved.

Discipline was cited by nine respondents as a continuing desegregation-related problem. In an effort to determine the impact of desegregation on discipline in the schools, WIEDS interviewers asked a series of questions about discipline policy and practices. Administrators and parents were asked what, if any, impact that desegregation had on discipline policy. The results are shown on Table 6 below.

TABLE 6
IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION ON DISTRICT/SCHOOL DISCIPLINE POLICY

RACE: A = Anglo
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
T = Total

RESPONSE	CO					PRINCIPAL					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTAL
	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
Began behavior modification program											1/ 9				1/ 3	1/ 4				1
Instituted new policy guidelines	2/ 25				2/ 20	2/ 33	2/ 33	1/ 100		5/ 39	1/ 9	1/ 8			2/ 6	5/ 20	3/ 15	1/ 14		9
Became more lenient											4/ 36	2/ 15		1/ 20	7/ 21	4/ 16	2/ 10		1/ 17	7
Became more strict	1/ 13				1/ 10							3/ 23		1/ 20	4/ 12	1/ 4	3/ 15		1/ 17	5
STILL changing/working on discipline problem						1/ 17	1/ 17			2/ 15			1/ 25		1/ 3	1/ 4	1/ 5	1/ 14		3
No change	5/ 63	1/ 100	1/ 100		7/ 70	3/ 50	3/ 50			6/ 46	5/ 46	7/ 54	2/ 50	2/ 40	16/ 49	13/ 52	11/ 55	3/ 43	2/ 33	29
Don't know													1/ 25	1/ 20	2/ 6			1/ 14	1/ 17	2
TOTALS	8	1	1	0	10	6	6	1	0	13	11	13	4	5	33	25	20	6	5	56

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

As shown in Table 6, more than half of the respondents (29 of 56) said that there had been no change in discipline policy because of desegregation. Seven of the 10 CO responding said there had been no change; six of 13 principals also said "no change," as did 16 of the 33 parents. The next largest number of responses were for new policy guidelines to clarify and/or update existing policies without making them more strict or lenient. Seven parents (four Anglo, two Black, and one Indian) said policies became

more lenient; while four parents (three Black and one Indian) and one Anglo CO said discipline policies were stricter after desegregation.

Specific questions were asked of respondents about the effects of desegregation on forms of punishment, including suspensions, expulsions, and corporal punishment, as well as conferences with parents because of disruptive actions by their children. Data regarding responses to these questions are indicated in Table 7, below.

TABLE 7
IMPACT OF DISCIPLINE POLICY/ACTIONS ON STUDENTS--RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
"SINCE DESEGREGATION, HAS THERE BEEN MORE, FEWER, OR THE SAME NUMBER OF *_____ IN YOUR SCHOOLS?"

RACE: A = Anglo
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
T = Total

		CO					PRINCIPAL					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTAL
		A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
*Suspensions	More	2/ 25	1/ 100			3/ 30	3/ 75	3/ 50	1/ 100		7/ 64	2/ 14	9/ 60			11/ 31	7/ 27	13/ 59	1/ 20		21
	Fewer	3/ 37		1/ 100		4/ 40						1/ 7			1/ 25	2/ 6	3/ 12	1/ 5	1/ 20	1/ 25	6
	Same	1/ 13				1/ 10	1/ 25	2/ 33			3/ 27	4/ 29	2/ 13	3/ 100	1/ 25	10/ 28	6/ 23	4/ 18	3/ 60	1/ 25	14
	Don't know	2/ 25				2/ 20		1/ 17			1/ 9	8/ 57	3/ 20		2/ 50	13/ 36	10/ 39	4/ 18		2/ 50	16
	Total	8	1	1	0	10	4	6	1	0	11	14	15	3	4	36	26	22	5	4	57
*Expulsion	More	2/ 20				2/ 17		3/ 50			3/ 27		8/ 53			8/ 23	2/ 7	11/ 50			13
	Fewer	3/ 30		1/ 100		4/ 33	1/ 25	1/ 17			2/ 18		2/ 13		1/ 25	3/ 9	4/ 15	3/ 14	1/ 20	1/ 25	9
	Same	1/ 10	1/ 100			2/ 17	2/ 50	1/ 17	1/ 100		4/ 36	5/ 39	2/ 13	1/ 33	1/ 26	9/ 26	8/ 30	4/ 18	2/ 40	1/ 25	15
	Don't know	4/ 40				4/ 33	1/ 25	1/ 17			2/ 18	9/ 62	3/ 20	2/ 67	2/ 50	15/ 43	13/ 48	4/ 18	2/ 40	2/ 50	21
	Total	10	1	1	0	12	4	6	1	0	11	13	15	3	4	35	27	22	5	4	58

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

TABLE 7 (cont'd)

		CO					PRINCIPAL					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTAL
		A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
*Conference with parents about disruption by child	More	6/ 67		1/ 100		7/ 70	4/ 80	1/ 20	1/ 100		6/ 55	3/ 23	6/ 43		1/ 25	10/ 29	13/ 48	7/ 37	3/ 50	1/ 25	24
	Fewer	1/ 11				1/ 10							3/ 21		2/ 50	5/ 15	1/ 4	3/ 16		2/ 50	6
	Same	1/ 11				1/ 10	1/ 20	3/ 60			4/ 36	4/ 31	2/ 14	3/ 100		9/ 27	6/ 22	5/ 26	3/ 50		14
	Don't know	1/ 11				1/ 10		1/ 20			1/ 9	6/ 46	3/ 21		1/ 25	10/ 30	7/ 26	4/ 21		1/ 25	12
	Total	9	0	1	0	10	5	5	1	0	11	13	14	3	4	34	27	19	[illegible]	4	56
*Corporal punishment	More	1/ 13				1/ 10	2/ 40				2/ 18						3/ 12				3
	Fewer	4/ 50		1/ 100		5/ 50	1/ 20	2/ 40	1/ 100		4/ 36	3/ 25	9/ 75	1/ 53	3/ 75	16/ 52	8/ 32	11/ 61	3/ 60	3/ 75	25
	Same	2/ 25	1/ 100			3/ 30	2/ 40	2/ 40			4/ 36	4/ 33		1/ 33		5/ 16	8/ 32	3/ 17	1/ 20		12
	Don't know	1/ 13				1/ 10		1/ 20			1/ 9	5/ 42	3/ 25	1/ 33	1/ 25	10/ 32	6/ 24	4/ 22	1/ 20	1/ 25	12
	Total	8	1	1	0	10	5	5	1	0	11	12	12	3	4	31	25	18	5	4	52

Some patterns emerge from the responses of these interviewees about the impact of desegregation on discipline in their schools. Not counting those who said they did not know, a majority of the respondents reported that desegregation had brought more instances of suspensions (21 of 41) and parent conferences (24 of 44), and about one-third (13 of 37) said there were more expulsions. The six (an Anglo CO, and three Black and two Indian parents) who said there were fewer parent conferences, were all from the same school district.

A surprising number of the Anglo CO administrators said that they did not know whether there had been more, fewer, or the same number of children leaving school because of suspensions (2/20% DK) and expulsions (4/33.3% DK) after desegregation. Half of the Black principals thought more students had been expelled or suspended, and 75% (3) of the Anglo principals responding agreed in regard to suspensions.

There was a widely-held perception that there were fewer instances of corporal punishment after desegregation. Discounting the 12 who said that they did not know, 25 of 40 (62.5%) said fewer students received corporal punishment after schools were desegregated. Black respondents reported this most frequently (11, including nine parents, of the 25). Seventy-five per cent (9 of 12) of the Black parents reported this condition. The same number (9 of 15) said there were more suspensions, and eight (of 15) reported more expulsions.

There were also significant, though generally less pronounced, differences in minority and Anglo perceptions of which students received the most punishment after desegregation. Table 8, below reflects these perceptions.

TABLE 8
PROPORTION OF MINORITY STUDENTS PUNISHED, COMPARED TO ANGLO STUDENTS

RACE: A = Anglo
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
T = Total

	CO					PRINCIPAL					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTAL
	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
Larger		1/ 100			1/ 10	5/ 33				5/ 42	4/ 80	12/ 100	2/ 100	2/ 100	20	9/ 47	13/ 82	2/ 50	2/ 100	26
Smaller	2/ 25				2/ 20		2/ 40			2/ 17	1/ 20				1	3/ 16				3
Same	6/ 75				6/ 60	1/ 17	3/ 60	1/ 100		5/ 42						7/ 37	3/ 19	1/ 25		11
Don't Know			1/ 100		1/ 10													1/ 25		1
Totals	8	1	1	0	10	6	5	1	0	12	5	12	2	2	21	19	16	4	2	41

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

All but one of the parent respondents (one Anglo) agreed that a larger proportion of minority than white students were punished in the desegregated schools. The only major disagreement came from Anglo COs, of whom none said more minority students were punished. Six (75%) said the proportion of minority and Anglo students punished was the same, and two (25%) said a smaller proportion of minority students was punished. It may be significant, also, that fewer Anglo parents chose to answer this question about who was punished more (none said "Don't know"), only five (see Table 8), compared to 12, 13, or 14 responses to the other questions on discipline (see Table 7).

The 26 respondents who had indicated that they thought minorities were punished proportionally more than majority students were queried as to what factors they attributed this phenomenon. As shown on Table 9, below, the most prevalent responses (16 of 45) identified a conflict of values or culture differences between the minority students and school personnel. Half of these responses were from Black parents; none were from Black or other minority administrators. Responses from Black principals included two that indicated that socio-economic factors were involved, two that said more minority students were punished because of general tension over desegregation, and two that it was caused by teachers' fear of minority students. Two Black parents also said that teachers' fear of minority students caused teachers to punish those students more. An Anglo parent, however, reported her perception that this fear of minority students was the reason for their being disciplined <u>less</u> than majority students.

TABLE 9
WHY DID MINORITY STUDENTS RECEIVE MORE DISCIPLINARY ACTION?

RACE: A = Anglo
B = Black
H = Hispanic
NA = Native American
T = Total

RESPONSE	CO					PRINCIPAL					P/C					TOTALS				GRAND TOTAL
	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	
Values/culture conflict	4/ 67				4	1/ 17					8/ 53	2/ 67	1/ 50		11	5/ 31	8/ 33	2/ 67	1/ 50	16
Home background	1/ 17				1	1/ 17				1	3/ 75	1/ 7			4	5/ 31	1/ 4			6
Socio-economic factors						2/ 33				2	1/ 25				1	1/ 6	2/ 8			3
Student misbehavior	1/ 17	1/ 33			2									1/ 50		1/ 6	1/ 4		1/ 50	3
Increase in number of minority students						1/ 17				1						1/ 6				1
Teachers afraid of minority students						2/ 33				2	2/ 13				2	4/ 17				4
Tension over desegregation						2/ 33				2						2/ 8				2
Schools would rather expel students than deal effectively with them											1/ 7				1	1/ 4				1
Don't know		2/ 67			2	3/ 50				3	3/ 20	1/ 33			4	3/ 19	5/ 21	1/ 33		9
TOTALS	6	3	0	0	9	6	6	0	0	12	4	15	3	2	24	16	24	3	2	45

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

Interviewed students were also asked their perceptions about the equity of discipline/punishment in their schools, whether any racial group had been treated easier or harder than others, and if so, who. These data are displayed below in Table 10. It seems clear that the students interviewed did not feel so strongly as the parents interviewed that minority students were punished more than majority students (cf. responses on Tables 8 and 10). Of the 50 students responding, only 12% (6) reported that there was discrimination in discipline procedures in their school, and only 16% (8) said that this was the case in their classes. Of these eight who identified a group as being treated easier, six (75%; 4 Anglos, a Black, and an Hispanic)

TABLE 10
STUDENT RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS:

10-A: IN REGARD TO DISCIPLINE, HAVE MEMBERS OF ANY GROUP BEEN TREATED ANY EASIER OR HARDER THAN OTHERS?

		A	B	H	NA	Total
In school?	Yes	3/ 13	2/ 12	1/ 17		6/ 12
	No	20/ 87	15/ 88	5/ 83	3/ 100	43/ 88
	Total	23	17	6	3	49
In classes?	Yes	6/ 25	2/ 13			8/ 16
	No	18/ 75	14/ 87	6/ 100	3/ 100	41/ 84
	Total	24	16	6	3	49

10-B: WHO WAS TREATED EASIER? HARDER?

		A	B	H	NA	Total
Easier?	Anglo	4/ 67	1/ 100	1/ 100		6/ 73
	Black	2/ 23				2/ 25
	Hisp.					
	N.A.					
	Total	6	1	1		8
Harder:	Anglo	2/ 50	1*/ 100			3/ 60
	Black	1/ 25				1/ 20
	Hisp.	1/ 25				1/ 20
	N.A.					
	Total	4	1			5

*Whites treated harder in football

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

said Anglos were; the other two--both Anglo--said Blacks were treated easier. Of the five who named a group as receiving harder treatment, three (two Anglos and a Black) said whites were treated harder. This Black said whites were treated harder in football practice.

Thus, of the relatively few students who reported discriminatory school or class discipline procedures, the respondents and responses were so mixed

that no pattern is apparent. Perhaps agreement between students and parents is no more to be expected than between any other two categories. Certainly each category--and each respondent--has a different perspective. Although it would not necessarily have produced any more agreement if it were the case, there were no interviews of parent-child sets from the same family.

Although there was not always agreement among racial groups between categories about what the problems were, there is considerable such agreement that many significant problems remained to be resolved. Without listing all 23 problems identified as unsolved by the respondents in all six districts (see King and Galindo, April 1980; Williams, 1980), Table 11-A shows the totals of these problems by race and all five categories. Table 11-B shows similar totals but only for teachers, students, and parents, arranged to facilitate comparison by racial group within categories. Table 11-A shows

TABLE 11-A
DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS REMAINING/SOLVED
TOTALS BY RACE AND CATEGORY

*RACE: A = Anglo B = Black H = Hispanic NA = Native American T = Total

	CO					Pr					Tchr					Stu					P/C					TOTALS				
	*A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T
Desegregation Problems Remaining																														
TOTALS	8	5	2		15	4	8			12	15	26	6	3	50	23	21	9	2	55	23	19	6	6	54	72	79	24	11	186
Desegregation Problems Solved																														
TOTALS	7	2	1	0	10	3	4	1	0	8	17	13	4	2	36	16	12	3	1	32	18	14	2	2	36	61	44	12	5	122

that according to the 122 reported perceptions of the interviewees, there have been 23 desegregation-related problems solved in their schools and 186 reports of about 42 other problems still needing attention.

Table 11-B, especially, shows that there is also some degree of agreement within racial groups between categories of teachers, students, and

TABLE 11-B
DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS REMAINING/SOLVED

Totals of Desegregation Problems Solved

	A	B	H	NA	T
Teacher	17	13	4	2	36
Student	16	12	3	1	32
Parent/Community	18	14	2	2	36

Totals of Desegregation Problems Remaining

	A	B	H	NA	T
Teacher	15	26	6	3	50
Student	23	21	9	2	55
Parent/Community	23	19	6	6	54

parents. For example, for "desegregation problems solved," Anglo teachers, students, and parents respectively named 17, 16, and 18; Black respondents in those categories named 13, 12, and 14 problems solved, etc. The same is true for "desegregation problems remaining." But it should be noted that Anglos identified fewer problems remaining than solved, and the reverse was true with each minority group. This is reflected in Table 11-C which shows

TABLE 11-C
INTERVIEWEES' PERCEPTION OF DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS REMAINING, BY ETHNICITY

	Anglo	Minority	Total
Interviewees N + %	90 (46.6%)	103 (53.4%)	193
Sources of Desegregation Problems Remaining: N + %	72 (38.7%)	114 (61.3%)	186

that minorities, making up 53.4% (103) of the interview population, had 61.3% (114) of the (186) responses identifying unresolved problems. This would seem to indicate that minorities are aware of more problems related to desegregation and is thus significant to efforts to measure the effects of desegregation.

One other way that the WIEDS project attempted to measure the impact of desegregation, was by asking parents what effect desegregation had had in four areas of their children's education. The resulting data are shown on Table 12. It seems clear that the perceived impact of desegregation was

TABLE 12
PARENTS' RESPONSES TO QUESTION: "WHAT HAS DESEGREGATION DONE TO THESE THINGS IN YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL" (BY RACE)

RACE: A = Anglo NA = Native American
B = Black T = Total
H = Hispanic

RESPONSE	School Facilities/ Equipment					Education in General					Academic Achievement					Extracurricular Activities				
	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T	A	B	H	NA	T
Improved	9/ 50	13/ 81	3/ 60	2/ 50	27	7/ 39	14/ 82	3/ 75	3/ 60	27	5/ 28	13/ 81	3/ 75	1/ 25	22	5/ 36	11/ 65	2/ 50	3/ 75	21
No change	8/ 44	2/ 12	2/ 40	2/ 40	14	2/ 12	2/ 12	1/ 25	2/ 40	7	5/ 28	1/ 6	1/ 25	3/ 75	10	6/ 43	2/ 12	1/ 25	1/ 25	10
Worse						8/ 44				8	7/ 39	1/ 6			8	2/ 14	3/ 18	1/ 25		6
Don't know	1/ 6	1/ 6			2	1/ 6	1/ 6			2	1/ 6	1/ 6			2	1/ 7	1/ 6			2
TOTALS	18	16	5	4	43	18	17	4	5	44	18	16	4	4	42	14	17	4	4	39

In each set of two numbers, the upper represents the number of responses by the population indicated, and the lower represents that number's percentage of responses for that racial group within that category.

quite positive in these areas, especially for minorities, and particularly for blacks. While only 50% (9 of 18) of the Anglo parents said that school facilities/equipment had improved (8 others said "no change" and one "don't know"), 50% (2) of the Indian parents agreed, so did 60% (3) of the Hispanics, and 81% (13) of the Black parents.

Anglo parents' perceptions of some of desegregation's other effects on their children's schools were not so positive, however. Only 39% (7 of 18)

white parents said that education in general had improved, while 44% (8 of 18) said it had declined since desegregation. For academic achievement, their report was similar, only 28% (5) said it had improved, and 39% said it was worse. Minority parents' responses indicate that desegregation had improved their children's education in general, academic achievement, and even extracurricular activities. With the exception of one Black parent (6% of Blacks responding) who felt that academic achievement had declined, the only one of these four areas in which minorities (three Black parents and one Hispanic) reported that desegregation had had a negative impact for their children, was in extracurricular activities.

The lack of minority student involvement in school activities such as speech and math clubs, school plays, honor societies, student government, and the like, as well as sports, was the most frequently mentioned desegregation-related problem remaining (25 of 174). Although mention of this problem was generally distributed among races and categories, it was most frequently mentioned by Blacks (14 times), especially Black students (7 times). It seems worth noting that in their responses to the WIEDS survey, many (105 of 131) CO administrators reported that minority participation in extracurricular activities had been one of their most successful desegregation strategies (4.34 mean effectiveness rating on a scale of 1-5).

Summary and Conclusion

The lack of minority involvement in school activities represents a degree of segregation, whether de jure or de facto, within a desegregated school, one of the second generation problems listed and discussed briefly at the beginning of this paper. Through its survey and interviews, Project

WIEDS identified other instances of second generation problems. These are problems which are caused by acts of commission or omission that discriminate against minority groups and/or perpetuate the effects of past discrimination, and which prevent the integration necessary for maximizing the benefits of desegregation.

Although minority staff members tended to be more involved, experienced, and trained in desegregation, they were generally under-represented in teaching, administration, and other positions which help provide visible role models for minority students. Minority students, especially Black students, were most often identified, by themselves and others, as the group having the most difficulty with desegregation. Minority students were also identified as being punished more than majority students. Although it may be that one effect of desegregation was to diminish the incidence of corporal punishment in school, another apparent impact was that it increased suspensions and expulsions which put more minority students out of school.

WIEDS data also indicate that most minority parent respondents believe that desegregation had brought them educational benefits--improvements in their children's school facilities and equipment, extracurricular activities, academic achievement, and education in general. But while minority respondents said that significant desegregation-related problems had been solved, they tended to believe that fewer had been solved than white respondents said were solved. And minority respondents evidently were aware of more problems yet to be solved than were whites. While minority respondents were generally positive in their assessment of how well desegregation was working, they--especially Black parents--tended to be less positive than whites. These data tend to point up the need to assess the impact of desegregation

by various approaches and from the viewpoints of those affected.

These data also indicate the need to continue the search for more effective ways to increase the benefits and reduce the burdens of desegregation. The WIEDS study has produced a few more data indicating, to repeat St. John, that it is a waste of resources to continue to investigate the general question of whether desegregation benefits children; it does. The "pressing need now" is to discover and bring about the school conditions "under which the benefits of mixed schooling are maximized and its hardships minimized" (St. John, 1975).

Besides the hardships of inequitable discipline practices, segregation within schools, and other problems already discussed, WIEDS respondents identified other "second generation" needs. The most frequently mentioned desegregation-related problems remaining included: (1) the need to change prejudiced attitudes of teachers, staff, students, and parents; (2) the need for more parent involvement in the schools and for more home-school cooperation; (3) the need for more communication among and between teachers, staff, students, and parents; (4) the need to increase cultural awareness among teachers and staff; and (5) the general need to improve race relations within the school and between home and school. It is to help address these needs that the WIEDS Project has been concentrating on conceptualizing and developing a model and guidelines for more effective inservice education. It appears from the desegregation/integration and inservice education literature, as well as from WIEDS' own studies, that more effective IE is essential to minimizing negative effects of desegregation and maximizing its many positive effects. WIEDS staff have developed a process model and sets of guidelines for (1) desegregation/integration, (2) multicultural education,

and (3) inservice training. Presently the model and guidelines are being refined and adapted specifically for use in improving race relations and home-school cooperation (King and Galindo, 1980, 1981).

From the WIEDS studies of desegregation-related problems and of solutions available through inservice education, it seems clear that effective inservice training is critical for efforts to: (1) improve teachers and staffs' knowledge of minority cultures, (2) prevent negative classroom/school experiences which reinforce stereotypes and prejudices, (3) teach children to be ethnically literate, (4) involve parents cooperatively in their children's education, and (5) provide classroom atmospheres which promote learning as well as interracial understanding, friendship, and cooperation.

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